



POLITICAL RESEARCH ORGANIZATION AND DESIGN

PROD TRANSLATIONS

BUREAU OF
GOVERNMENT

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IN THE NEWS: *Citizenship Clearing House* political party consultant fellowship applications due October 31. * * * *Council for Financial Aid to Education* estimates that business gave \$136 million to education in 1958 (perhaps about 15% of this to research), \$414 million to all other philanthropies. * * * *Population Reference Bureau* projects a world population of 6.3 billions in 2000; by U. S. standards that would take 630,000 political scientists, leaving no one to teach the Martians.

FOUNDATIONS: A *Public Relations Society* study reports that 39% of companies of 1000+ employees have company foundations to channel philanthropic giving. * * * The Eagleton F. (New Brunswick) has decided in favor of small grants (\$500 to \$4000) for research in practical politics instead of a journal, citing heavy subsidies required for publishing and the need for better studies as greater than the need for conventional outlets; its special studies series will continue. * * * Ford F. grants to stimulate research in public affairs totaling \$500M have now gone to Colgate, Cornell, Duke, Vanderbilt, Washington (St. Louis), U. of Penna. (the Pennsylvania State Legislature once decreed that "Penna." is the only acceptable abbreviation of the State's title; "Pa." & "Penn." are beyond the pale), Allegheny, Amherst, Antioch, Beloit, Dartmouth, Grinnell, Knox, Lawrence, Smith, Union, Vassar, Wabash, Wellesley & Williams. * * * Ford F. also gave \$156M to New Delhi for urban community development project; \$270M to Burma for democratic farm planning; \$378M to Pakistan for *Inst. of Development Economics*. * * * To Rutgers Ford F. gave \$85M for a professorship in public affairs. * * * Fund for Adult Education will spend \$15-\$20 million annually to build nation's leader supply, using all types of adult education facilities, e.g., colleges, TV, etc. * * *

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT: A gamut of passport bills from restrictive (Eastland) to libertarian (Humphrey) is sung in Congress these days; a middle tone will probably dominate & is certain to be superior to the practice before the Kent-Briehl Court decision. * * * Students will continue to swear loyalty to get federal college loans (general academic opposition was unavailing . . . people are sometimes a little too optimistic about the ease with which they can change the bad features of a program). * * * The National Science F. plans to translate Chinese scientific publications. Govt. now sponsors translation of 70 Soviet publications, half by NSF, & translation of some Eastern Europe & Chinese materials.

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- Accommodate the tools of other disciplines to the science of policy.
- Promote consensus on the subjects and priorities of study.
- Improve social research design and organization.
- Translate and circulate the best of political science from overseas.

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Outline of a Typology of Adherence to Communism

An Italian scholar, Giorgio Braga, here presents a model by which to analyze Communistic expansion in industrialized and non-industrialized nations. He distinguishes between traumatic tensions, which result from unemployment and poverty, and "paretian" tensions, which arise from a lack of social mobility. There are various responses to trauma, e.g., submission, aggression and evasion. In these terms he discusses tensions in contemporary and historical societies, and considers the means by which Communism and other political and social movements try to resolve them. Natural and functional elites in working-class movements are analyzed, with special references to Communist elites.

The article first appeared in SOCIAL COMPASS, a multilingual review published in the Netherlands, V (No. 1 1957-58), 1-8, under the title, "Esquisse d'une typologie des adhesions au communisme: Basee sur l'examen de la situation italienne." It was translated by David Walker of the University of North Carolina.

INTRODUCTION

The goal of this study is not a description of the social tensions that have favored Communistic expansion in specific countries. The author has spent many years of research on one such study, essentially inductive, of Communism in Italy.¹ The present study rather involves an attempt to construct a general, working hypothesis, which will permit a thorough analysis of Communistic expansion in both industrialized and non-industrialized countries.

The diversity of Italian structural conditions is considerable, ranging from pre-industrial situations to conditions in which industrialization is highly advanced. In Italy, however, there are neither primitive conditions, nor techniques of the American type by which the number of tertiary workers surpasses the number of secondary workers.

The indirect knowledge that the author possesses of non-Italian conditions can only partially take the place of direct knowledge, of course. The working hypothesis that is outlined here thus needs

to be verified in countries that have structures comparable to some of the Italian. The hypothesis may also require many thorough revisions and elaborations if it is to help us logically to comprehend the phenomenon of Communism in American and Canada on the one side, and Communism in Asia and Africa on the other.

I. TRAUMATIC AND PARETIAN TENSIONS

First of all one needs to make a fundamental distinction between tensions that are caused by an inadequacy in the social system² [*une insuffisance de la forme sociale*] and those that result from a conflict between matrix³ [*matrice*] and social structure.

The first tensions, which we call "traumatic," are due to unemployment, poverty, famine and similar causes.

The second tensions are essentially due to a lack of social mobility; we call them "paretian," after the celebrated theoretician, Vilfredo Pareto. Thus struggles for national independence are directed by a native elite, opposing an elite that

¹Braga, G. *Il Comunismo tra gli italiani*. Milan: Ed. de comunita 1956, 190 pages, 16 maps.

²Whether it is due to the inadequacy of the matrix, as in the case of technological breakdown, or suffered by the matrix as a conjunctural breakdown.

³The social matrix includes all spontaneous conditions, invisible to a macrosocial observation, but susceptible of disclosure by microsocial analysis.

is foreign at least by origin.

Revolutions occur when traumatic and paretian tensions are joined; the first furnish the multitude and the second the direction. Thus the French Revolution took place when a series of bad harvests were added to the pre-existing tensions between the *Tiers État*, rich in abilities, and the privileged estates.

For tensions to produce action they must be crystallized into ideas, and these ideas must be the basis of some organization. Rational ideas always have some attraction especially for the educated; but one must attribute an even more important role to irrational ideas, especially suggestive images. These ideas or models must be projected toward a future far enough distant, or into a past none the less remote, so that any verification would be difficult or impossible.

Organization is relatively easy within a disciplined elite group, but if the movement wishes to command a large number of adherents and to maintain constant contact with an even greater, unorganized mass, then the organization must become increasingly formal, thus giving birth to parties in the modern sense.⁴ If the natural elites are capable of spontaneous organization, in turn a functional elite or political class tends to develop within the organization.

Organization without ideas tends to be dissolved in details. But in a growing organization, ideas must be made assimilable for a constantly increasing number of individuals. These ideas become ideologies, in which the irrational factors always dominate the rational factors. The elites are continually tempted to resolve their particular conflicts, which are paretian in nature. The natural elite tends to defend the interest of its social group, the functional elite the interest of its organization.

Only permanent competition, as in a democracy, keeps the elite from forgetting popular interests, and makes the

elite actually resolve the traumatic tensions. In addition, permanent competition constrains the elite from oligarchic excess, by posing the threat of its swift decline.

Those subject to traumatic tensions lack social cohesion, which is not purely mechanical. For such tensions are relative, subject to variable and transferable responses.

The perception of a trauma is relative to local standards: a given level of nourishment would perhaps be considered satisfactory by a Hindu and at the same time a starvation level by an occidental. It is also relative to the previous situation: a modest economic level is considered luxurious by a poor worker and as bare subsistence by a bankrupt merchant.

The perception of trauma is especially influenced by contact with those having a comparable social status: a peasant considers any social progress of his worker brother as an injustice.

The variability of individual responses to traumas has been systematically treated by Horney⁵, who distinguishes between submission, aggression, and evasion. Tyrants fearing a rapid shift from submission to aggression have always favored evasion by "bread and circuses" [*vers les "circenses"*] and have tried to direct aggression toward scape-goats. These scape-goats have been ethnic minorities (the Jews under the Nazis), or religious groups (the Christians under Nero), or even former associates (the chiefs of police in the U.S.S.R.).

A method that involves both evasion and displaced aggression is the shift toward sectarian religious forms, hostile to all ecclesiastical hierarchy. The history of the American Negro offers persuasive examples. And the miners of Amiata in Tuscany, before the advent of Communism, were associated with a fanatic and anarchistic religious sect, the *Guirisdavidici*.

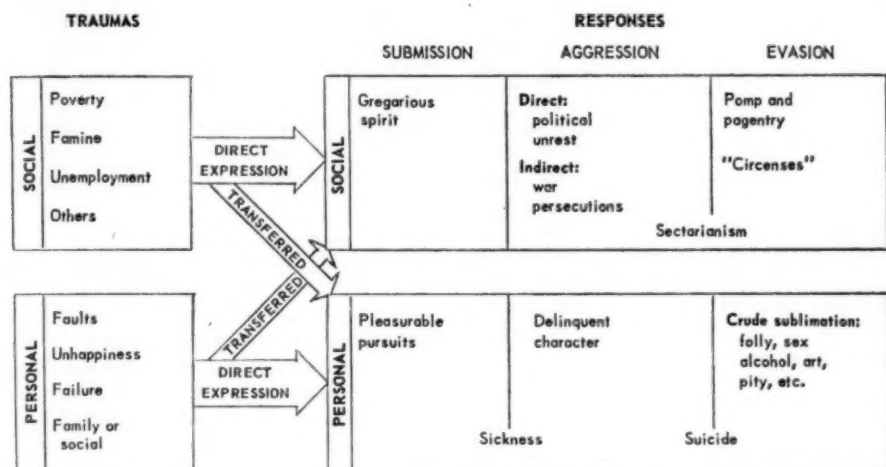
It is quite clear why a transfer from social trauma to personal response and

⁴Durverger, M. *Les partis politiques*. Paris: Ed. Colin, 1953.

⁵Horney, K., *The Neurotic Personality of Our Time*. N.Y.: Norton, 1937.

from personal trauma to social response are facts of everyday experience. The

following diagram outlines the various responses to trauma:



The insufficient cohesion of traumatized persons explains why popular, spontaneous movements are similar to a summer thunderstorm: unforeseen and of short duration. But nevertheless they may be terrible, because they are manifestations of all aggressive instincts that have been repressed, those of a non-social nature and those of a social nature that are ordinarily limited by the simple rules of community life.

On the other hand, all organized movements have a restraining effect on the traumatized, particularly when these movements are capable of satisfying the different needs—aggressive, gregarious and evasive.

The traumatized certainly are not scarce in Italy. Among them are the poorest proletariat and poor peasants in the south of Italy and in the islands. They are also present in situations where there is some degree of industrialization. Continual economic change causes crises in certain social groups, for example, tillers of poor mountain land and certain types of artisans. In addition there are various traumas that arise from war or civil struggle. Personal traumas are of course found in all situations, but are

particularly common among those who move from the country to the city or from one region to another that has different mores and customs.

However, it is true that Communism is not without rivals in its attraction for the traumatized. Vilfredo Pareto, in his *General Treatise of Sociology*, explained in theoretical terms the struggle between the elite in power and the subordinate elite at the top of the social pyramid.

In modern society, rich in differentiated social groups, endowed with some capacity of initiative and with a particular culture, the arrest of the circulation of values manifests itself at different levels.

It is probable that something like this occurred in the past, although the sociological insufficiency of historians has brought few traces of it to light. But it certainly occurred to a lesser degree than it does today.

The process of industrialization increases social mobility and thus tends to make the pre-existing paretian tensions disappear. Especially in rural areas access to ownership of land is easier for the peasants, because the bourgeoisie prefer more stable employment.

In Italy, two out of three of the more frequent paretian tensions are pre-industrial. In the south and in the islands there are many regions where there is still some conflict between the bourgeoisie, which has had trouble in establishing itself, and the powerful remainder of the agrarian classes. A Jacobinism that has a touch of Communism exists here. In Emilia and central Italy there is a contrast, at a lower level, between the farmers and the bourgeoisie. The latter, with the remaining aristocracy, cling to ownership of real estate; the resultant tensions have been tinted successively with Mazzinianism, Socialism and Communism.

The third tension, that between intellectuals and certain technicians on the one hand and the entrepreneurs on the other, is often found in the industrial regions of the north. However, this pressure rarely manifests itself as Communism but more as a "fellow traveling."

It is persons affected by problems such as the bourgeois revolution or the access of farmers to land who lend the impression of being behind times. In hopes of being able to "pass the stopping place without stopping," by making use of Communism, essentially individualistic movements then take on an aspect of collectivism. "Obligingly," to promote and "use" an evolution in this sense, the strategists of Communism have accepted a pre-Socialist phase of popular democracy, conceived for pre-industrial countries.

There are, on the other hand, paretian tensions that introduce the technical era. There is, perhaps in a transitional phase, an upsurge of the technocrats, a class that has a great deal of power in the United States and is the subordinate elite in the Soviet Union, as Burnham has so well shown.

Now new tensions are becoming apparent. At the top, there is a small group of intellectuals whose prestige will

increase when working hours yield to hours of leisure. Moreover, there is the "Fifth Estate," formed by tertiary workers, who gradually realize that they have numbers on their side. This is the great "unknown" of tomorrow's politics. These paretian tensions, which presage the end of traditional industrialism, do not lead to Communism, but rather to the development of a third political force.

II. A SYNTHESIS OF DIALECTIC TENSIONS

Marx, as a sociologist, distinguished from five to seven existing classes in the various situations that he examined. But Marx, as an ideologist, emphasized the importance of only two classes: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

At the height of the industrial epoch it was quite understandable that there was a hiatus between the two classes. One polarization, a result of the industrial revolution, was very clear. In the factory, ownership and control on the one side and workers on the other were enclosed in a very compact microstructure: a "fellowship" [*communio*], to use Gurvitch's terminology.⁶ There was practically no fundamental rapport between the two groups. Outside of the factory, the standards of living, the mores and the "habitat" of the two groups were equally different from one another. The workers tended to identify with work "fellowships" or "communions," which led the first social struggles.

A new type of force became evident, the dialectic force. On close examination, the two components, paretian and traumatic, were still present, but they were so well amalgamated that it was not easy to distinguish them. At first only the traumatic component attracted the attention of sociologists. They were interested almost exclusively in insufficient salaries, excessive working hours, unhealthy conditions, and the exploitation

⁶G. Gurvitch (*La vocation actuelle de la Sociologie*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1950) distinguishes three forms of sociability: fellowship, community and mass.

of women and children. Even as working conditions became less harsh, they recognized new and more subtle causes of neurosis: the monotony of operating machines and an objectionable work rhythm were imposed on human labor.

The paretian component was more difficult to discover. Though Socialists soon noticed that syndicalists and political activists were capturing the interest of the greatest part of the specialists, who were the worker-elite, the phenomenon was not put in scientific terms until later. Lloyd Warner⁷ was the first to comment clearly on the fact that, historically and presently, abilities have been held back by the lack of a sufficiently developed advancement "ladder" in industrialized structures.

The recent studies of neuroses in industry by Father Gemelli have confirmed that the proportion of those afflicted is greatest among those who are bound to the most humble work. It may be assumed that this results in part from the greater number of workers in these strata who cannot realize their true capacities.

In all industrialized countries there have been definite attempts to resolve dialectical forces at the factory level. And the first step toward constructive solutions always consisted of the development of factory committees that bring worker representation.

But then one quickly perceives the necessity of a liaison between work fellowships. Thus is born class consciousness, from which the necessity of class organizations is derived. These organizations can be polarized toward a solution of the traumatic components, as is a labor union, or toward a solution of the paretian components, as is a political party.

The trade union [*syndicat*], which can be Socialist but often is not, succeeded after severe struggles in reducing the traumatic forces that affected the workers. It also created a functional elite, which was still a working elite, from

labor unionists; this subordinate elite did not have any great interest in the solution of paretian tensions, which would be equivalent to destroying its *raison d'être*.

The workers' parties (classists) were, on the contrary, particularly interested in resolving the paretian component. Marxist Socialism in particular could propose an apparent solution in the substitution of a circulation of individual values for a circulation among classes. The proletariat class was, because of its new values, to supersede the corrupt capitalist class.

To bring about an identification of individuals with the class it was necessary to diffuse and affirm the class consciousness. In psychoanalytic terms, it was necessary to give a super-ego to the proletariat as a class. Only in this way was it possible to convey the impression that if the representatives of a class were raised in the social pyramid, then the entire class would be raised.

The Marxist prophecy could not be maintained. When the Socialist elites came to power, they adopted a quite commendable reformist policy: the creation and diffusion of social services; state control of certain key positions in the economy; progressive taxation; and further possibilities for control. But such a policy could be followed, and *was* followed in part, equally well by the non-Socialist parties. At the same time the new elite, such as it was, had been mingled with the pre-existing elites. *Ad impossibilia nemo tenetur*. The facts measured against Marxist orthodoxy gave the appearance of treachery.

On the other hand, the class super-ego had successively extended to the wage-earners of industrialized agricultural enterprises and to rural day-workers, who had many things in common with factory workers. In Italy, an example of the first can be found in the irrigated plain to the north of the Po, from Vercelli to Mantua. The second type is found

⁷Warner, L. *The Social System of the Modern Factory*. New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1949.

in the Mantua triangle (Chioggia-Ravenna-Maremma) and in certain regions of the south and in the islands. In some social groups, especially among the day-workers who were very much lacking in elites, several traumatic components predominated. Two solutions were possible. Either Marxist prophecy was rejected in the ceremony of class worship, as in democratic socialism, or one reinforced class super-ego by augmenting its natural elite with a functional elite, as in Communism.

The Communist Party arose as the "church of Marxism." This was a strange church indeed, occupied with the things of Caesar and not (at least not directly) with the things of a God whom it denied. Nevertheless this "church" had many traits similar to the ecclesiastic one: it maintained a unity of doctrine in following a prophecy of easy heterodoxy; it assured class-party unity in combating all schismatic endeavors; and it reduced the importance of the immediate problems (traumatic forces), with a consequent reduction of labor unionists in the secular state.

The class super-ego was replaced by a *class-party* super ego, but at the center of the super-ego one found not the class but the Party. As Almond demonstrated in his research, the higher one climbs in the party hierarchy, the more one must be identified with it.⁸

It is interesting to observe the ambivalent function of the class in its connection with the Party. One can easily enter the Party through the working class, or through the peasant class; there are many more tests required for recruits of other origins. But the Communist worker, particularly the trade unionist, never succeeds in suppressing the bipolarity of his super-ego; the riots in Berlin, Poznan and Hungary furnish adequate proof of this. If the Communist of intellectual extraction succeeds in suppressing the individual tendencies to which he is accustomed, he becomes a Party fanatic.

Democratic syndicalism is then the greatest enemy of Communism. It either spreads and then fades away from all direct, political expression (United States), or it takes on a non-Marxist political cast (Labourism in England and certain of the dominions, labor branches of the Christian parties in federalist structures), in which case it reduces Marxism to cultural expression (social democracies such as those of Scandinavia, Belgium, etc.). Within the Italian Socialist Party, for example, there is a very unstable situation. The right wing experiences democratic attraction, the left wing Communist attraction, and the center, containing the framework, is attracted by schismatic Communism such as that of Tito.

The decisive function of trade unionism can be formulated thus: the working class moves toward democracy much more rapidly than it can develop its own natural elite and can do without the Communist functional elite.

In Italy the greatest Communist failures occur among the most advanced working fellowships (in Turin, Milan and other northern cities), while such failures are less frequent among the agricultural or day-worker communions.

The process of democratization is also facilitated by objective conditions. The isolation of workers as a class disappears when social conditions improve and when the physical isolation of the workers in an area is broken down.

I believe that the second factor is the most decisive. The Italian experience suggests that when workers have remained mixed among the peasant farmers Communism has had difficulty in gaining acceptance. When workers live in daily contact with the bourgeoisie, they are quicker to repudiate Communism. This will become more frequent with the expansion of the Fifth Estate. Presumably, automation will contribute to the disappearance of working-class isolation. More technicians and fewer journeymen mean fewer limited person-

⁸Almond, G. *The Appeals of Communism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954

alities and a greater tendency toward union among the social classes.

It is interesting to recall that the Marxist prophecies have been unable to be maintained, even in the U.S.S.R. Those who hold power in the name of the proletariat comprise a very slight minority of the population, estimated at 1%⁹. The other components of the population are higher bureaucrats, 7% (of whom half are technocrats); lower bureaucrats, 9%; workers, 31%; peasants, 50%; forced labor, 2%. Even social mobility, at one very great due both to the destruction of the pre-existing leader classes and to industrialization, is subsequently reduced steadily.

It is interesting to observe that the Party in the Soviet Union retains great importance not only as an organization but also as an ideological entity. The justifications given are the capitalist encirclement and the passage from the Socialist phase to Communism.

At this point another question arises. Twice in the Soviet Union a cult of personality has been attached to the class-Party super-ego. Were these deviations due to Lenin's prestige and Stalin's treachery? What the the deeper reasons?

I believe that two explanations are available. One is the continual oscillation between tyranny and oligarchy. Second, if one closely observes the devotion to a living Stalin, followed by his assassination in effigy (Khrushchev's statement) and then again the false sentiment that Communists reveal toward the memory of Stalin, one is lead to think of the ambivalent sentiments of love and hate of a son toward his domineering father, described so well by Freud. They kill their father to mourn him afterwards. Thus one cannot easily exclude the super-ego personality cult of the Communists from consideration. The super-ego always tends to be identified with the father, and the father is unique. The importance of Togliatti, Thorez and Tito in the Communist cults of other countries is thus understandable.

⁹We report Moore's evaluation (1939) with several corrections due to Dallin and Rostow's successive evaluations.

III. THE SOCIAL CADRES OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The dialectic tensions afford adherents a cohesion worthy of a better cause, and also win over new adherents as a result of the effects of the component traumatic and parentian pressures. But the two bases of adherence are quite different. In the case of paretian pressures, the most highly structured and strongest organization is sought after as an ally by those who have a common interest in social subversion. But acceptance of the class-party super-ego has not taken place, or remains entirely formal. Thus the intellectual "fellow travelers" and the Communist Jacobins of the south constantly attempt to convince themselves of an inevitable democratic evolution of international Communism. And it is no longer surprising to find that many farmers from the Marches, Umbria and the Tusco-Emilian Apennines are Communist in their politics and Catholic in their religion.

The basis of adherence for the "traumatized" is quite different. Here, the class-Party super-ego plays a predominant role. Almond observed very precisely that a basis for adherence was found both by individuals with a tendency toward a gregarious response, and by those with tendencies toward an aggressive response. Only the latter could hold responsible positions.

But in its task of attracting the traumatized, Communism has a large number of competitors. Fascism exerts its attraction on the aggressive ones. Monarchy and all the strong parties attract the gregarious ones. Especially for those who have tendencies toward evasion, Communism is a poor rival of religion. It is quite understandable why Lenin maliciously wrote that "religion is the opiate of the people." Each person understands just that part of religion that he is able to understand. Similarly, when Communism succeeds in creating its society (red zones, villages of day-work-

ers), it emphasizes ceremonial aspects, and it attempts to spread the myth of the Soviet Union as the New Promised Land. The nature of Communism's integral conception of life explains why religion is, in the struggle for the conquest of humanity, Communism's chief stumbling block.

The tendencies outlined here have validity because they were observed in a great number of cases. An observation of other phenomena, limited in time and in extent, reveals irregularities that must not be underestimated.

At the macrosocial level there is the weight of historical tradition. Communism can have an anti-American aspect for Americans and a kindred aspect for Slavic peoples. The same can be said of cities having a strong municipal spirit and of areas having ethnic minority characteristics: in them every dominant characteristic (both religious and political) stands out clearly.

At the microsocial level, groups with weak cohesion (masses) show sudden and sharp vicissitudes; those that have moderate cohesion but are differentiated (communities) show gradual shifts in opinion, particularly if they encompass a wide area; finally, groups that have strong cohesion and are only slightly differentiated (work fellowships) undergo rare but abrupt changes.

At the psychosocial level there are not only the transfer phenomena of which we have already spoken. There is still a certain persistence of psychological systems of reference. Thus, a Communist accustomed to judging everything in class terms, is able to remain faithful to his Party even if he becomes an owner: he sees the hiatus between small and great ownership, but not the abyss between the proletariat condition and that of ownership. One can say the opposite for the pious *montagnard* fallen into the direct poverty. Thus, both the most mechanical adherence to Communism and the withdrawal from Communism are necessarily slow in taking place after the appearance or disappearance of the

tensions that are their cause.

There is also the human will that succeeds in resisting social conditions and even acts upon them. It is this that frees the historical future from determinism.

Our inquiry into the forms of adherence to Communism, based on an examination of the Italian situation integrated with the literature of other countries, permits certain final considerations:

(1) The human condition is such that man is subject to traumatic pressures. Passage from a pre-industrial economy to an industrial one and, successively, to a technical one, changes only the proportion of traumas of different types. Traumas of poverty yield to those of faulty adaption (marginal), which, in time, move back before the thrust of the tensions of sexual origin that characterize an economy of abundance.

Persons who are subject to traumatic pressures that arise from industrial conditions or from pre-industrial conditions in contact with industrial conditions show a strong attraction for Communism.

(2) It is man's social fate to be subject to paretian tensions resulting from insufficient social mobility. Passage from pre-industrial structures to industrial ones assures a greater social mobility both in the higher strata of the social pyramid and among land owners, particularly among owners of marginal land. Those subject to paretian pressures in retarded pre-industrial structures make comparisons and thus are easily allied with Communism.

Paretian tensions (not dialectic) in industrial structures occasionally furnish allies for Communism. With the development of technical structures, those subject to these pressures search for solutions in the constantly extended leveling of fortunes, and in equalization even more marked with possibilities, notably education.

(3) Dialectic tensions develop from the isolation of the working class that in turn is brought about by the indus-

trial revolution. These pressures are strictly connected with industrial structures. Industrial progress tends to diminish the traumatic component and to increase the paretian component.

When industrial progress proceeds rapidly, the working class tends to create its own elites and to resolve, thanks to them, its own problems concerning political expression and trade unions (Socialism, laborism, labor branches of the Christian parties). Even if the working class makes use of a functional elite, that elite arises for the most part from within the working class itself.

When industrial progress slows, the working class does not create a natural elite sufficient for its own needs. It then borrows functional elites from Communism, elites that, even if they are of worker origin, are identified with the Party.

The change from industrial structures to technical structures results in the disappearance of working class isolation because the class becomes mixed with the Fifth Estate, which eventually comes to surpass it numerically. At the same time, automation creates an intermediate stratum in the factory. The dialectic pressures then tend to be resolved without its two components, traumatic and paretian. The very basis of Communism disintegrates.

(4) In addition to industrial structures there are industrialized agricultural enterprises. Dialectic pressures are also found in them, and Communism succeeds there by imitating the procedure used with the other workers, but rather more slowly. Once Communism is established among agricultural workers, it remains much longer. This is the case both because agricultural fellowships have difficulty producing their own elites, and because the difference between the productivity of agricultural enterprises and that of industrial enterprises tends to increase with the development of technical structures.

It would be too much to hope that

all those who have had different research experiences would contribute to this discussion and revise and enrich the sketch that we have drawn. The hypothesis thus perfected could be controlled according to the limits of actual situations. Both simple and complex.

We think that it would be necessary to proceed with macrosocial research, conducted by comparative method, and with microsocial studies, conducted by the techniques of sociometry and social psychology.

The first type of study would allow us to direct the second more properly, that is to say, inform us whether we are focusing upon a typical or deviant situation, a retarded or initial situation.

The second type of study would not only permit a deeper comprehension of social reality, but assure us that our typologies adhere to reality and are not arbitrary constructions. We could thus provide all interested parties the requisite knowledge about a phenomenon quite multiform but at the same time unitary.

We should emphasize that the research activity would be less difficult because we should make it possible to compare the effect of different social actions in social milieus whose relevant similarities we shall have controlled. Actually, because of automation, atomic energy, progressive market concentration and the birth of new nations, everyone is nowadays constrained by a dynamism that works without intermission.

Meanwhile, there would remain a residual body of transferred responses. The sociologist will state that they exist and, often, in quantities we cannot ignore. It will be left to psychologists, especially to those who are interested in the dynamics of personality, to study the transfers in quality, fully and frequently. We should then reach into the roots of humanity.

Giorgio Braga

Practical Introduction to Notarial Sociology

Notarial records, which have been maintained for many centuries in a number of European countries, contain a wealth of data that is just beginning to be used in social scientific research. In France such work is being done by members of a new discipline, notarial sociology. Sociological, economic, demographic and psychological questions that can be answered by notarial data are suggested, and methods of studying marriage contracts, acts of sale and acts of loan are outlined.

This article originally appeared in the French journal REVUE DE PSYCHOLOGIE DES PEUPLES, XIII (No. 1 '58), 93-100, under the title, "Introduction pratique à la Sociologie notariale: Jeune Discipline profitable à la Psychologie des Peuples." It was translated by Vilma Cavallaro of New York University.

Previously we have drawn attention to notarial sociology,¹ defined as the study of sociological data embodied in notarial acts, notably by means of their statistical analysis. We would like to return to the subject at greater length for the purpose of introducing to its practice those who, though they may have access to these documents, leave them unexploited because their interest has not been drawn to them. For example, we believe that the work of researchers engaged in studies of urban sociology would be facilitated if they used studies of notarial acts to augment their documentations. Such study would also facilitate the work of those preparing regional monographs, specialists in human ecology, jurists—who often search in vain for means of verifying their hypotheses with actual cases—and in general all sociologists engaged in objective works. Those who are interested in the psychology of groups and in economic sociology will readily see means of using the resources of notarial sociology in their works.

I. GENERALITIES AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

One of the most interesting aspects of the notarial act is the archival character it acquires at the time of its signature. From that moment on it will remain in

the locale where it was signed, and interested parties may receive only copies of it; it will always be at the disposal of anyone who wishes to study it scientifically. Other interesting points are its frequency and its detailed content. Law or custom demand the notarial stamp on the most important juridical acts of human life; they also demand a great deal of information, the study of which proves rewarding. Finally, notarial acts provide a particularly important continuity in space and time, one that is truly incomparable in any field. In space, the domain of notarial acts includes the countries of western civilization and those that have been subjected to western influence, with the exception of the Scandinavian countries and most of those under Anglo-Saxon law. In time, it extends several centuries into the past. In France, for example, the Ordinance of Villers-Cotterets in 1539 obliged notaries to retain the originals of the acts they drew up. Actually, this Ordinance only made official a practice already frequently observed, and certain series of acts date back much further. This obligation has been maintained since. It was strengthened during the French Revolution by the organic law of 25 ventose Year XI (modified especially by the ordinance of November 2, 1945), which regulates the present notarial profession.

¹In a very brief article entitled *Une mine à exploiter: les archives des notaires* (A Source to Be Exploited: Notaries' Archives). *Revue de Psychologie des Peuples*. No. 4, 1955, 382-94.

However, this source long remained unexploited. The old acts were accessible only with difficulty; only those of the most recent decades remained in the offices of the notaries, while the older ones were relegated to the attics or abandoned to dust, rats and damp. One man, however, the recently-deceased archivist-paleographer Coyecque, changed the situation. He did not limit himself as others had to pointing out the historical interest of notarial records, but devoted himself for more than forty years to making them accessible. The law of 25 ventose Year XI forbade notaries to communicate the notarial acts to anyone save interested parties and their heirs. Coyecque, whose thesis had revealed the wealth of notarial records, worked endlessly for the abrogation of this provision of the law. His efforts were rewarded by the law of March 14, 1928. It authorized notaries to deposit acts more than 125 years old in departmental or national archives. In fact, archives often accept acts of more recent date. Since 1948, all the notaries of Paris have deposited their old acts into the "Minutier central" (Central Registry) of the National Archives, the most important in the world, where nearly 80 million notarial acts have been assembled and perfectly organized. A filing system, now partly completed, will permit the easy exploitation of the enormous resources that are already well classified.

The establishment of depositories has been less rapid in departmental archives, certain provincial notaries being reluctant to part with their acts. Nevertheless, collections are well under way throughout France and there is scarcely a departmental archive that has not already classified several million notarial acts. In other countries such work is generally not so far advanced. Still, there are very important registries, especially in Italy. Historians eagerly have made use of this mass of material, the existence of which had been virtually unsuspected until recently; numerous magazine articles and several theses have already appeared.

However, it will probably require several generations to extract all the wealth inherent in that mass of documentation. Also, up to now most attention has been drawn to special details, particularly to points of interest to specialists in literary history (the will of D'Alembert, inventories made after the deaths of Amyot, Moliere, Racine, La Bruyere, Chateaubriand, etc.). The history of mores, of national characteristics, of economic facts (and consequently economic and social science), demographic history, etc., may be revised through the exploitation of this *terra incognita*.

However, if the historian is now fully conscious of his new wealth, attention has not yet been drawn to that which has not yet passed through the portals of the archives. The contemporary acts still retained in the office of the notary are not yet in the domain of history, but in the domain of that kind of history *in statu nascendi* that we call sociology. We not only wish to draw attention to the value of these acts for the sociologist, but to show how their more general use will be fruitful for the social sciences by opening up new directions for research. The article previously referred to (footnote 1) contained a brief survey of such works. These studies are what would be called "pioneering work" in the United States, that is, they have the merit of opening a path but are in themselves imperfect, both in method and results. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to outline our methods so that others may perfect them, and thus promote the attainment of more satisfactory results. A certain number of studies of notarial sociology must appear, to establish methods and work doctrines that will permit the great organisms of sociological research to safely enter the field of notarial acts with their teams of researchers armed with statistical equipment.

In this discussion we limit ourselves to several areas of notarial sociological studies that are accessible to solitary workers or modest teams, even those

lacking mathematical methods. We give very simple directives for the sociological study of marriage contracts, of acts of sale and of acts of loans. These methods could be extended to the study of other types of acts or to other aspects of the same acts.

II. THE STUDY OF MARRIAGE CONTRACTS

Several aspects of marriage contracts may be studied. The economic aspect may be studied by examining the property of the contracting parties. The demographic aspect may be studied by concentrating on the connection between the marriage settlement and divorce or fecundity (some claim that there exists a positive correlation, which has never been objectively studied, between the choice of settlement concerning the division of property on the one hand, which may appear as a restriction to the contracting of marriage, and the area of least fecundity and of the least success of the union on the other hand). It is also impossible to study the "authoritative personality" (the one who obtains clauses that are favorable to him in the marriage contract, whose personal choice of notary prevails, etc.), and many others. Here we consider only the problem of marriage settlements.

One of the greatest tasks of objective contemporary sociology is to evaluate modifications in the relation between the sexes. The marriage contract offers excellent possibilities for the measurement of these modifications in the area of juridical relations between husband and wife. It is known that two types of marriage settlement exist. One is that in which the property is separate; this is not without faults, but under such a

settlement each marital partner is master of his property and its administration. The second is the communal settlement, in which all or part of the property is held jointly but is administered by the husband, who even may have the right to dispose of it. The study of the proportions of communal and separate property settlements through time offers a good indication of the development of the spirit of juridical independence of women in marriage. The following method appears adequate.

Marriage contracts include many items of information. Among them, besides the type of marriage settlement adopted, those usually found are: the profession of the future husband and wife; their date of birth; their status (bachelor, widower or divorced); their nationality. This information alone permits a very elaborate sociological analysis of the marriage contract. Of course, it should be based, if not on *all* the notarial studies of a locality or of a region, at least on a sizeable and representative sampling. It is also of interest to group observations by five-year periods because temporary disturbances may have taken place. Generally, it is not necessary to establish a separate card for each contract. For a work of this sort, one page for each year studied is sufficient.²

The percentages for one type of settlement in relation to the other are to be established, as well as the variations in these percentages. First the gross results are tabulated: number and proportion of separate property settlements on one side, communal settlements on the other. A table and graph can be used to sum up the results and their evolution. But if one wants to study thoroughly the behavior of young French families concern-

²It may be recorded thus:

Year 1914 — *Separation of property*:

1/27 — M[an] Merchant. Bach., born in 1920, French.

W[oman] no prof., divorcee, 1924, French.

2/2 — M. Professor. Bach., 1924, French.

W. studente. Bach., 1925, American.

Same year — *Communal property*:

1/23 — M. Chemist. Bach., 1923, French.

W. secretary. Bach., 1927, French.

ing marriage settlements, one must eliminate from the gross results all deviant contracts (those involving foreigners, widowers with children, divorced persons); the tables and graphs thus obtained will be quite different from the preceding ones. The work will still be incomplete, for if one really wishes to know the attitude of young couples, the average ages must be calculated for each kind of settlement, for both men and women, as well as the median ages (important differences according to the type of settlement adopted will generally be noted). Types of variations reveal the more or less normal character of each kind of settlement, as well as the age differences between marital partners; the proportion of women having a profession will suggest which social classes choose one or the other of the settlements. Finally, certain elements can be varied to effect experimentation of a sort. Thus, if we eliminate all young couples of whom one is in the commercial field, we generally find a considerable increase in the relative proportion of contracts of communal settlement in the remaining group. The separate property settlement often appears to be a kind of professional settlement used by those in the commercial field.

III. STUDY OF THE ACTS OF SALE AND OF LOAN

Acts of sale are much more complex than marriage contracts. On the other hand, they have the advantage of being more easily accessible. While marriage contracts must be consulted at the offices of the notaries who drew them up, copies of acts of sale must be deposited by the notary in the chief town of the *arrondissement* where the property is located, at the *Conservation des hypothèques* (Registration of Mortgages), whose archives are open to the public. The sales contain a mass of information, including among others the names of the sellers and buyers, their addresses, ages, sex, professions, marriage settlements, nationalities; the description of the property sold, its price and its history (very de-

tailed and often very ancient). Their sociological analysis proves very fruitful. For example we may study the time-span of the rotation of real estate between 1855 and 1955 (the act indicates how long the seller has held title to the property), its division between sexes, age groups, Parisians and provincials, etc. Considering the amount of information contained in each act of sale, one card per act may be justified; however, for many limited researches pages of the type indicated above will suffice.

The analysis of loans is also of great interest for the human sciences. They permit the economist to study the time-length of loans and rates of interest (information that is much more revealing because it is not subjected to pressure of government, inflationary or deflationary tendencies, or the abundance or scarcity of capital, as are bank records, usually utilized for this purpose. The sociologist may study the role of women in acts of loan, for example: this role seems more important than the role they played in economic or capitalistic activity in general. The study of the proportion of male and female borrowers and lenders, and their median ages, seem to suggest more circulation of money in the hands of elderly women and middle-aged men. Lenders are found especially among widows, who on one hand find themselves in possession of disposable funds upon the liquidation of communal property formerly held with their husbands, but on the other hand have little experience in business and would hesitate to undertake industrial, commercial, or speculative investments, preferring mortgage loans with more moderate but relatively secure returns. Extensive studies would be necessary in order to verify this point, and many others suggested by the act of loan.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

We have looked at only some of the scientific riches to be found by notarial studies; there are many others. For example, notarial acts such as those concerned with the devolution of inheritance

provide us with important demographic information; declarations of inheritance are valuable to economists; deeds of gift would prove of great interest to social psychologists (for example, the development of the idea of stripping oneself of property for the profit of one's children among fairly well-to-do people, usually in rural milieux). Wills and their frequency deserve study. (Le Play wanted to do away with the portion of property going to children by law, so that parents might freely depose their property; this liberty seemed to him to be an indispensable prerogative of the head of the family by making it possible to punish undesirable elements by disinheritance and, on the other hand, rewarding the deserving child who would become the future main-stay of the family. The statistical study of wills would permit one to measure the small degree to which contemporary heads of family profit from the partial freedom in making a will that is left to them under the Code, and would open the door to a discussion, other than a purely polemic and theoretical one, of the ideas of Le Play.) Societies for the construction of houses on a cooperative basis can be studied. (It is surprising that a sociological phenomenon that presently affects so many people has not been the subject of study. Knowledge of it would be highly useful in the development of official construction plans for dwellings, revealing the kind of houses most wanted, etc. Here too, notarial acts constitute an excellent area for study: within them are to be found use-

ful data on age groups, social and professional classes interested in construction, their financial possibilities, the kinds of apartment most frequently chosen, the length of time involved in construction operations, the acuteness of the need for housing, the proportion of those whose ambitions were greater than their means and who consequently had to give up all their rights before construction was completed, or settle for a smaller dwelling, etc.)

Mr. Jacques Monicat, Guardian of the National Archives, wrote several years ago about the registries in which old notarial acts have been assembled: "The afflux of this documentation newly put at the disposal of researchers will have a decisive influence on the evolution of the historical sciences in the course of the twentieth century. This event may be compared to the effect made at the beginning of the nineteenth century on the study of the Middle Ages by the innovation of free consultation in public repositories of the parchments and cartularies which, until the Revolution, had lain dormant in the archive-rooms of the churches and abbeys." Perhaps the same hopes for sociology can be based on the contemporary notarial acts that have not yet been entrusted to the archives and are still very much alive. One may at least state that the contribution made by notarial sociology to the human sciences will be neither negligible nor without happy consequences for their progress.

Jean-Paul Poisson

TRANSLATIONS AND TRANSLATORS: Readers of *PROD* are cordially invited to suggest articles, or even brief sections of books, for translation into English. Materials on sociological, economic and psychological research and methodology, as well as on political research, will be considered for translation.

Individuals with translating skills are also needed. Translators of Italian and Spanish are presently wanted, in particular. Translators are provided a copy of the material to be translated, and payment is made at the rate of one cent a word.

Realities and Limits of the Russian Presence in Central Asia

A study, drawn from Russian sources, of the more than twelve million Muslims who coexist with some eight million Russians in the five Soviet Republics of Central Asia. In a century of contact there has been surprisingly little assimilation between the two cultures. In rural areas traditional Muslim ways of life predominate, and most urban areas consist of two distinct cities, colonial and native. There is little intermarriage, and the native languages have not been supplanted by Russian. Though there is broadening contact in academic, military and work situations, and in cities that are being modernized and integrated, Muslims still effectively oppose russification of their culture and ethnic groupings.

This article originally appeared in the French journal *L'AFRIQUE ET L'ASIE*, #44 (1958), 5-13, under the title, "Realites et Limites de la Presence Russe en Asie Centrale," and was translated by Vilma Cavallaro of New York University.

Russian expansion in Central Asia, a phenomenon already four centuries old, has resulted in massive colonization of the Muslim regions, a colonization with consequences for both men and their civilizations. For nearly four hundred years Russians and Muslims have been living together; what has been the result of this cohabitation? It is the very question that the displaced Occidental in Central Asia asks himself. It is not without interest to see what he has to say.¹

I. REALITIES OF THE RUSSIAN-MUSLIM COHABITATION

It is difficult to determine the precise proportions of Russians and Muslims in the total population of Central Asia for several reasons: the last Soviet census dates from 1939; the exact number of Muslim men lost during the Second World War is not known; and the extent of subsequent population movements into these regions is not known. The figures given in the table below are only estimates and must be accepted as such. It is nevertheless apparent that the Russian presence in Central Asia is a significant factor.

This extraordinary afflux of Russians unquestionably poses a menace to the personality of the Muslim peoples, who are thus continually subjected to a russification that could eventually bring about their total assimilation. However, the consequences of cohabitation are not apparent from population figures. They can be understood only by studying the character of the relations between the two communities. If influence is to be effective, there must be effective contacts between Russians and Muslims in all fields, human, social and cultural. What exactly are these contacts?
Two Coexistent Communities . . .

It would seem that, lacking close affinities, each of the two communities retains its own national character. This is true in the rural areas but also partly true—and this is surprising—in the urban milieu.

In the countryside the attempt to create Russian-native *mixed kolkbozes* has largely been given up, following a fruitless trial before 1930. There are several reasons for this: (1) the economic differences between the purely Russian establishments (agriculture) and the Muslim (agriculture and breeding);

¹Strongly recommended on this subject is an article by Richard Pipes, "Muslims of Soviet Central Asia — Trends and Prospects," *Middle East Journal*, Spring-Summer, 1955.

Republic	Total Population in 1956 ²	Non-Muslim Population (estimate)	Percentage of Total
Kazakhstan	8,500,000	5,000,000	60%
Uzbekistan (including Karakalpakistan)	7,300,000	1,500,000	20%
Kirghiz	1,900,000	1,000,000	52%
Tadzhikistan	1,800,000	350,000	19%
Turkmenistan	1,400,000	400,000	28%
Totals	20,900,000	8,250,000	39%

(2) the desire to avoid clashes between the two communities; (3) the linguistic difficulties, etc.³

Besides, it is known that in most regions of former nomadism (Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Kirghiz), precisely the regions in which Russian colonization is strongest, the tribal system is maintained with an astonishing vigor. And the organization of the kolkhoz exactly reproduces the old tribal organization.

Kazakhstan is a typical example. According to an investigation made in 1950 in the Bal'basar Kolkhoz in the region of Djambul,⁴ among the 116 households that composed the village there were 13 families of immigrants from Azerbaidjan, two Russian families and 101 Kazakh households. Of the latter, 100 belonged to the same subgroup (*ruu*) ("Akhcha") of the "Dulat" clan of the tribe of the Great Horde (*Hulu-Juz*). Only one Kazakh family belonged to the Middle Horde (*Orta-Juz*), and was considered "foreign."

An investigation conducted in a region of long-established permanent settlement (Khorezm) indicated that the division

of Uzbek kolkhoz villages corresponds very precisely to the clan (*elat*). Such villages contain about forty families, descendants of the same name-giving ancestor; they consider other Uzbeks as "foreigners."⁵

It is understandable that, in the face of the persistent force of these traditional structures, the entrance of the Russians into a Muslim kolkhoz involves the risk of provoking frictions and insurmountable conflicts. Under these conditions, the kolkhozes remain, with a few exceptions, quite homogeneous. In the Russian kolkhozes there are to be found several native specialists (shepherds), while in the Muslim kolkhozes the rare Russians are administrators or technicians. Thus, in the Bal'basar kolkhoz of 116 Muslim families there were two Russian families: the Director of Economy (*Zavkhoz*) and the carpenter.⁶ In 1953 in a Kirghiz Kolkhoz, "Vorochilov," in the district of Pokrovsk, region of Issyk-Kul', which had 627 households and a population of 2,588, the Kirghiz comprised 98 per cent of the population and the Russians less than one per cent.⁷

The two communities are in closer

²Official estimate of April, 1956, cf. *Narodnoe Khozjaistvo SSSR v 1956 godu*. Moscow, 1957, p. 18. [Editor's Note: The 1959 Soviet census lists the following populations for these republics, respectively: 9,301,000; 8,113,000; 2,063,000; 1,982,000; 1,520,000; total, 22,979,000, an apparent gain of 10% in three years. In 1939, 25% of the population of the five republics was urban; in 1959, 38%.]

³We have intentionally concentrated on the rural milieu, rather than the industrial milieu, because the activities of the peasant are not only a means of livelihood, they are also and above all a way of life.

⁴O. A. Korbe, "Kul'tura i byt kazakhskogo kolkhoznogo ayla" (Culture and Mores of a Kazakh Kolkhoz Village). *Sovetskaja Etnografija*, No. 4, 1951, pp. 67-91.

⁵G. P. Snesev, "O nekotorykh prichinakh sokhraneniya religioznoobytykh perezitkov u Uzbekov Khorezma" (Several Reasons for the Conservation of Religious Survivals in the Mores of the Uzbeks of Khorezm). *Sovetskaja Etnografija*, No. 2, 1957, p. 67.

⁶*Sovetskaja Etnografija*. April, 1950, p. 71.

⁷S. M. Abramzon, "Opyt monograficheskogo izucheniya kirghizskogo kolkhoza" (The Experience of the Monographic Study of the Kirghiz Kolkhoz). *Sovetskaja Etnografija*, No. 3, 1953, p. 39.

contact with each other on the state farms (*sovkhboz*), enterprises that employ salaried help. As a rule *sovkhbozes* are predominantly Russian, but they also include Muslims who are specialists in breeding and a few who hold other positions.⁸

In the towns ethnic segregation is equally perceptible, although it seems destined to disappear. The recently created urban centers generally have Russian majorities. Elsewhere, where the modern city is an enlargement of the old city, there is a typically *colonial* character. With the exception of Alma-Ata and Stalinabad, where the Russian and Muslim quarters are intermingled, and the purely Muslim cities like Kokand or Bukhara, where the Russians are a distinct minority, most cities of Central Asia are double: a native city, and a Russian administrative city in which some people of other races also live. Often, between these two sharply separated cities, there is a third city with a mixed but predominantly Russian population, a sort of "melting-pot" where unclassed or rejected elements live. One must consider, however, that these urban divisions are only temporary and will crumble under the pickaxes of the demolishers. As an example, Tashkent until recently was sharply divided, but is now in the process of becoming a great modern city in which the two communities are compelled to live together.

... *That Refuse to Intermarry* ...

Mixed marriages, out of which a common society might have been born, were rare before the revolution. Sometimes, Muslims (peasants and intellectuals) married Russian girls. Such marriages did not stir up serious opposition in their milieu because the young Russian girl was obliged to convert to Islam. The inverse was practically impossible.

Presently, marriages between Muslims and Russian women, although rare, are

possible, but they are usually contracted among the classless elements living on the fringes of the two communities or among persons who have left Muslim territory. Besides, such unions generally are not legalized by being registered in the ZAGS. (*Zapis Aktov grazhdanskogo Sostajaniija*.) The marriage of Muslim girls and Russian men seems unthinkable for several reasons:

(1) There are not enough girls in the Muslim population of Central Asia (in 1926, the proportion of girls to boys was 9:10, while among the Russians the inverse was true). The marriage of a Muslim girl to a foreigner would be considered an insult to her family and her people.

(2) The difference of cultural level, mores and customs. In spite of all efforts by the authorities, the emancipation of the Muslim woman has not been completed and within the family the position of the wife remains subordinate (innumerable recent Soviet documents bear witness to this). In addition, the traditional marriage customs are still very much alive. It is thus difficult for a Russian to enter a milieu that is completely foreign, if not hostile, to him. The only exceptions are the *declassés*—widows or prostitutes—or else the Russian girls who married Muslims during or immediately after the war in Russia itself.

(3) Finally, one must bear in mind the extraordinary authority exercised by parents over young people regarding their choice of a marital partner. This is true not only among the peasants, but even the workers.

... *And Who Nevertheless Work Together*.

Occupational contacts are indeed inevitable, but their character differs according to the type of employment. In industry, Russians and Muslims work side by side, but contrary to what might be

⁸At the end of 1956, there were 96 *sovkhbozes* in Uzbekistan, 628 in Kazakhstan, 54 in Azerbaidjan, 58 in Kirghiz, 35 in Tadjikistan and 41 in Turkmenistan (*Narodnoe Khozjajstvo SSSR v 1956 godu*), *op. cit.*, p. 145.

expected, the contacts that do exist between them are not sufficient to effect an "assimilation." Workers of other races are still not numerous and form a minority in the midst of the Russian proletariat.

Several recent Soviet documents present evidence on the degree to which native workers have been assimilated. One example⁹ is the old coal-mining center founded in 1898 at Kyzyl-Kija, in the region of Osh (Kirghiz). In 1954, in the coal-mining trust *Kijaugot*, 12 per cent of the workers employed were Kirghiz, less than half of the proportion employed in 1914 when in the three Kirghiz districts of the Oblast' of Semiretchie (Picpek, Prjeval'sk and Vernyi) 513 Kirghiz workers comprised 25 per cent of the labor force of 2,011.

Essentially, the present Kirghiz workers are "temporaries," 60 per cent of them having been there for less than three years and only 25 per cent for more than five years. Generally, they are younger people—55 per cent are between the ages of 18 and 30. There are some older workers as well—35 per cent are between the ages of 30 and 50.

The study made by Mr. Abramzon points out that the customs involving dress among the workers are practically analogous to those of the Kirghiz peasants: traditional clothing for the women; mixed clothing and the wearing of the national head-dress for the men. All workers retain strong ties with their natal village. Almost exclusively they marry girls from their own place of origin, and faithfully observe exagamous customs (the obligation to marry outside the grouping of one's own clan) as well as the patriarchal customs: the wife is chosen by the father of the bridegroom (with no opposition permitted from the young people). The custom of the *levirat* survives, although in modified form (the widower marries the niece of his deceased wife), etc. Under these conditions, it is difficult to believe in a "denationaliza-

tion" of the Kirghiz proletariat.

Another source of contact is the academic institution, especially the higher-level and technical (*teknicum*) establishments (usually boarding-schools). Russian primary and secondary elementary schools are sometimes attended by Muslim pupils, but the inverse is never true. Real contacts between the two communities begin only at the end of the secondary studies. But it is, *above all, the army* that is the principal instrument for the russification of non-Russians. It is known that since the 1930's units based on territorial origin have not existed in the Soviet Union (with the exception of a plan for the creation of local guards in Turkistan during the war that did not materialize). Muslim officers and recruits are dispersed in units where they blend with the Russian background. Thus for the Muslims military service is often the occasion of their first contact with another nationality, and sometimes even the source of their first contact with the Russian language. Sometimes this confrontation with a new world draws a Muslim into the evolution toward russification. But generally the emotional impact is mild and the days spent living in common with the Russians are forgotten when the Muslim returns to the land of his birth.

II. THE EFFECTS OF COHABITATION

Soviet propaganda never fails to proclaim the profound influence wielded by the Russian people, "the older brother of the Soviet peoples," over their younger brothers in all areas of life. Certainly there is a great deal of truth in this affirmation, for even when they have not mingled the two communities, Russian and Muslim, have lived side by side for as long as a century, and the non-Russians have strongly felt the cultural influence of the Russians. Nevertheless, in general the Muslims of Central Asia are very much attached to their mores and customs, and abandon them only if

⁹Cf. S. M. Abramzon, "Prosløe Nastojskie Kirghizkikh Sakhterov kizikija". *Sovetskaja Etnografija*, No. 4, 1958, p. 58.

they are incompatible with material progress. Often, the Muslim does not have recourse to Russian "forms" because they are inconvenient, and even when they are convenient he tries to reconcile them with his own tradition.

The Influence of Material Civilization

Russian influence is especially discernible in urbanization and new construction. Though the old native cities have changed only gradually since the conquest, in rural areas the new native *auls*, constructed since the war, are everywhere characterized by Russian principles of urbanization. Instead of the disorderly arrangement of older Muslim villages they have the classic structure of the Russian village: two wide streets crossing each other perpendicularly. The houses, at least in the wooded areas (Kirghiz, Southeast Kazakhstan), also reveal Russian influence. The new native house imitates the Siberian *izba* or even more the Ukrainian *khata*. In areas where wood is scarce, the traditional clay construction predominates. In the southern regions (Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tadzhikistan), the native house, better adapted to climatic conditions, has successfully resisted change.

Finally, it must be noted that the nomads made sedentary by the Soviet regime (the Kirghiz and the Kazakh) keep beside their new houses the old tents (*yurt*), where they spend half the year.

The influence of material Russian culture in the field of furniture and household utensils is equally apparent. Even the most remote areas have been influenced, especially since the war; innovations have generally been introduced by former combatants. But in the Kirghiz houses, writes a Soviet ethnologist, "the European bed serves only a decorative purpose, and the family continues to sleep on the floor."¹⁰

Very often, native houses—even in the villages—include one "European" room for show, while the rest of the house

remains furnished strictly "in the Oriental style."

Russian influence is quite discernable in clothing. Almost everywhere, the native costume represents a synthesis of traditional and "European" clothes. The European element is predominant among the city people, especially among young people, while traditional clothing is worn in the rural areas and by women. But everywhere the Muslim, even the most "occidentalized," retains some elements of the traditional costume (often it is the head-dress) that distinguishes him from the Russian.

In food, aside from a few borrowed dishes, the cuisine remains typically native, based on rice, mutton and milk dishes (*ayran*, *kumys*). The use of alcoholic beverages is not widespread although it seems to be gaining rapidly in urban settings. Finally, though obliged to eat pork (the pig is considered to be an impure animal) in the factory canteen and in the barracks, the Muslim avoids it whenever possible, and in all likelihood never eats it at home. The best proof of the persistence of this alimentary taboo is the distribution of pigs in the Muslim territories of the Soviet Union, given in the table below.

The Republics least affected by the Russian "colonization," Tadzhikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, are also those where the hostility to pigs is strongest. In Kazakhstan and in Kirghiz, the breeding of the "impure animal" is chiefly the work of the immigrant Russian colonials.

It seems that in the domain of material civilization the contacts between the two communities are still rather limited, due rather to the ignorance of the Muslims rather than to a conscious opposition. On the other hand, in the domain of *spiritual* civilization (language, culture) the opposition of the native intelligentsia takes the form of a conscious resistance to the penetration of Russian influences.

¹⁰S. M. Abramzon, "Otcherki Kul'tury kirghizskogo naroda" (Sketch of the Culture of the Kirghiz People). *Franze*, 1946, p. 75.

Republic	Total Population	Number of Pigs	Number of Inhabitants Per Pig
R. S. F. S. R.	113,200,000	30,087,000	3.7
Ukraine	40,600,000	16,934,000	2.3
Kazakhstan	8,500,000	1,025,000	8.2
Uzbekistan	7,300,000	209,000	34.9
Azerbaidjan	3,400,000	153,000	22.2
Kirghiz	1,900,000	162,000	11.7
Tadjikistan	1,800,000	55,000	32.7
Turkmenistan	1,400,000	32,000	43.7

Source: *Narodnoe Khozjaistvo SSSR v 1956 godu, op. cit., pp. 18 and 135.*

Influence of Culture

In linguistic matters, R. Pipes sums up in this way the complex policy of the Soviet authorities in Muslim lands for nearly forty years:

"The authorities apparently hope that in time Russian will become the language of the socially dynamic elements of the Muslim population, while the native languages will be relegated to the rank of peasant dialects, deprived of all political importance."¹¹

Up to the present, the policy of linguistic russification has had little effect on the rural masses. Living in an isolated world, the Muslim peasants know Russian little more than did their ancestors before the revolution.

In the towns, the situation is different. Russian is taught in the native secondary schools and serves as the language of instruction in the higher-level schools. The young native who is preparing to pursue a higher education is obliged to know Russian fluently since an examination in this language is a *sine qua non* for entrance in the university.

The analysis of the linguistic policy of the Soviets and of the resistance of the other races serves as the framework of these comments.¹² It must be remembered, however, that Soviet sources, even the most recent ones, make much of the

growing solicitude of the Muslim intelligentsia concerning the future of their national languages:

"Certain comrades," D'jandil'din, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, wrote in 1957, "are alarmed, declaring that the *Kazakh language is condemned*. An important part of the Kazakh people, notably its intelligentsia, expresses its ideas and uses not only the Kazakh language, but also Russian, which has become for them a second maternal language. That is what worries certain ones among our intellectuals who see in it a 'danger,' the gradual disappearance of the Kazakh language."¹³

At the present, at least, one cannot speak of the disappearance of the native languages. The Muslims who have "evolved" have not lost the use of their language, *they are becoming bilingual*. Russian is the language of business and of administration, while the Turkish or Iranian dialect remains the only language used outside of work.

The influence of Russian culture on the culture of the natives is more difficult to evaluate. Do they read Russian books? No one knows, but it seems that they prefer those of their own authors who seek to preserve the national form in their works.

¹¹Pipes, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-160.

¹²Cf. "Reveil de l'Islam en Union Sovietique" (The Awakening of Islam in the Soviet Union). *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, No. 2, 1958.

¹³N. Djandil'din, "O Nekotorykh voprosah razvitiia nazional'noj kultury" (On Some Problems Concerning the Development of National Culture). *Kommunist Kazakhstana*, Alma-Ata: No. 7, 1957, p. 19.

The theater, much esteemed throughout the Soviet Union where, contrary to what occurs in France, the proletariat is as assiduous a spectator as the intelligentsia, is nevertheless not a point of contact, above all because there are two separate repertoires, with or without a common auditorium. At Frounze, the capital of Kirghiz, there is just one theater, which gives alternately five Russian performances for one Kirghiz. Bukhara has a theater devoted exclusively to the national repertoire. With very rare exceptions, the Russians do not frequent the "national" theater, and the Muslims for their part avoid Russian plays.

In music the desire to preserve national authenticity is equally apparent; the non-Russians are very much attached to their own works, which have essentially the character of folklore. It must be noted, however, that to a certain extent the Soviet authorities encourage this tendency. Finally, in painting and sculpture, contemporary Muslim art is in general only an imitation of the hideous Soviet pompousness. There is neither originality nor refinement on either side.

In the final judgment, there is a clash of cultures in the Muslim territories of the U.S.S.R. As happens in such situations, the meeting does not give birth to a third "synthetic" culture, but leads to the more or less rapid triumph of the most dynamic culture, in this case the Russian.

Willfully imposed or not, Russian material and spiritual civilization day by day penetrates further into the Muslim community, in spite of the conscious or unconscious resistance of non-Russians. Is there a movement in the opposite direction? Do Russian communities, some of which have existed for a century in Islam territory, feel in their turn the influence of the milieu in which they exist?

Theoretically, several factors favor Muslim influence on Russian colonies:

(1) The racial liberalism traditional among the Russians. When free of a superiority complex, the Russian never loathed to mix ethnically with the Turk, and at the time when the two races were equally powerful, mixed marriages were numerous throughout the social scale. It is sufficient to recall the "Tartar" origin of certain great Russian families. At present, the lack of ethnic mixing is due to the strong desire of the Muslims to safeguard their racial integrity by refusing to intermarry with their conquerors.

(2) The official principle of cultural equality between Russians and Muslims is supposed to result, in theory, in the blooming of one unique culture, "proletarian in its foundation and national in its form."

In fact, the Soviet authorities, though combatting "Russian chauvinism," have never questioned the absolute superiority of occidental-Russian culture over the national Muslim cultures. Despite official doctrine, in the Muslim lands of the U.S.S.R., it is the Russian minority, theoretically equal in law, that imposes on the Muslim majority its culture and its political and spiritual concepts.

The Russians, so liberal in racial matters, paradoxically demonstrate an intransigent chauvinism with regard to their spiritual and even material culture, and that chauvinism is especially evident in their relations with Muslim society. Strengthened by their feeling of superiority, they remain impervious to the influence of the local culture and the meeting of the two civilizations results, in the final analysis, in the cohabitation of two practically "sealed" worlds.

H. Carrere d'Encausse

In Criticism of Opinion Research

While recognizing the numerous techniques of opinion research that follow the Socratic educational interrogation, the author concentrates his attention on the internal and external psychological, ideological, social and political meanings of the extensive sample survey process. He insists upon the fundamental dependence of questions and answers on the theory of the whole survey. Why the opinion survey is a vital part of scientific progress, despite its essential limits, is analyzed and its possibilities for social enlightenment are considered.

The article first appeared in *DIE NEUE GESELLSCHAFT*, IV (July-August, 1957), 251-58, under the title "Kritisches zur Meinungsforschung." It was translated by Eileen Lanfield of Educational Testing Service and the New School for Social Research.

The figure of Socrates, who questioned the youth of Athens on their opinions of the nature and true content of certain fundamental, predominantly ethical concepts in their society, appears to have been reincarnated in modern society as the interviewer. Just as Socrates once did, so he also searches—now equipped with a questionnaire—to ascertain the opinions of the multitudes on concerns of the community. And, as in Socrates' time, the influence and activity of the obligating leading social impressions and models valid for the group are often foremost in the survey's intention.

A fundamental difference between the conduct of Socrates and the opinion survey conducted by the modern interviewer appears obvious: Socrates wished to make the interviewee understand directly and immediately the uncertainty of the mere commoner. He wanted his question to lead if not to knowledge then at least to knowledge of ignorance. For that reason the intent of his questions was essentially enlightening and critical; its educational goal was the potential release toward true and certain knowledge.

THE INTERVIEW AS A METHOD OF RESEARCH

Measured against this goal, the modern interviewer is everything but a second Socrates. He does not wish to—is not permitted to—act as an educator or to free a person to attain knowledge. For

him, the given opinion has value in and of itself. He is not concerned with truth or falsity but merely makes certain of the opinion, registers it, and notes as exactly as possible in his questionnaire how he explored it. As such a registrar he acts as the means, the tool, of a concept of the survey that limits his individual freedom in the execution of the interview and compels him to an impartiality that is not always easily attained.

This, specifically, is a very important question: through the impartiality demanded of the interview in the service of the total survey concept, will results be attained for a sociological analysis that still—though in a form other than that of the Socratic dialogue—may be used for an enlightening and critical function for the social knowledge of the group. In other words, from the beginning it is uncertain whether modern opinion research has the power, within limits, to offer social enlightenment by clarifying the development and operation of social prejudices. An answer to this question will be possible only if we first consider the methods of investigating public opinion, as they have been developed in modern empirical social research. Our first task is to examine them critically with regard to their inner problematic.

First we turn to the representative poll that employs the interview technique, a survey method that without doubt is central to empirical social research today. Certainly, in addition to

the technique of direct questioning of a representative sample, a multitude of other inquiry procedures have been developed. Their importance cannot and should not be underestimated. To this group belong case studies and field surveys, which primarily use methods of participating observation to collect data ordered according to definite sociological points of view regarding single persons or single groups, with a view toward later systematic analyses.

To this group may be added group depth experiments, whose method is to place a selected group in experimentally contrived situations and observe its behavior. The technique of group discussion having a specific incentive is especially fruitful. This technique often permits observation of the development of phenomena such as social suggestibility, social control and group structure.

The utilization of prior statistical or documentary material on sociologically defined points of view is also of value as a special procedure of empirical social research.

Finally, the same holds true for the so-called "content-analysis" of communications materials, a technique of investigation that systematically describes and orders material instruments of communication, objectively and quantitatively, according to definite categories. In this manner insight may be obtained into the use of stereotyped words and sentences, and into the socially motivated role of the meaning-content of the concepts. Such study offers fruitful materials for group analyses. Finally, sociographic and sociometric methods of investigation should at least be mentioned.

Among these many procedures of observation and inquiry the questionnaire technique employing the personal interview still occupies a central position. Partly for this reason the inquiry technique—with the personal inquiry as a focus—has been designated as the royal road of empirical social research. Especially where the ascertainment of individual and group opinions as social facts

is concerned, the standard personal interview is of central significance. It provides individual contact, a direct approach to the man and his opinions and behavior. It also permits questioning beyond the "Yes," "No," "No Opinion" model.

This possibility of going beyond directly quantifiable answers to more qualitative expressions and expression contexts through the personal interview is of critical importance for empirical social research. Such research, beyond the primarily practical intentions of market research, strives to grasp the opinion and behavior of individual and group *vis-à-vis* facts of general social and therefore public significance.

It is therefore necessary to speak of an empirical social research in terms of the above-mentioned methods of inquiry and observation, since here sociological induction emphatically acknowledges the methods of quantitative experiments and of controlled observation. Behind these—in part unadmitted—is the view that specifically with the help of these methods it is possible to free sociological knowledge from its philosophic-artistic tradition, prevalent especially in Germany, and to base it on reliable factual observation, confirmation, description and analysis. It is certainly correct that every sociological theory about concrete group phenomena provides for empirical social research an instrument of critical self-examination of individual theoretical conceptions, and thereby limits possible sociological speculations.

But the meaning and the potential of empirical social research are fundamentally misunderstood where the performance and the uniqueness of experimental observation and measurement procedures are bound up with the idea of a derived and realistic theory of cognition. Neither excessive empiricism nor naive realism has a place here. Yet just such positions are still in part bound up with the expectations we have of empirical social research. Taking a critical position here appears to me to be an urgent

assignment for the sociologist who wishes to attain clarity regarding what his experience, his empiricism actually is and does.

In seeking for clarity and knowledge regarding the meaning and limits of possible discovery we are, I believe, always referred to that critical conception of experience that Kant posited in his "Critique of Pure Reason": experience is logically categorized organization of pre-objectively given cognition material toward the apparent object in the execution of knowledge. The ordering of the object of cognition is the correlate of objectively constituted categories of cognition.

No empirical-sociological experiment—and probably every representative survey using the interview must be considered as such—portrays pre-established, objective social facts (be they opinions, positions, attitudes, groupings) in the so-called abstract, but rather first and foremost determines its object of cognition through an anticipating or hypothetical theory.

THEORY AND EMPIRICISM

And this anticipating or hypothetical theory is also fundamental to the findings obtained through observation. Every experiment is to be understood—figuratively speaking—as a question addressed to the object. The structure of this question, however, is itself not derived solely inductively from the object, but rather is in considerable part theoretically outlined. Without such a theoretical outline the object "says" nothing and remains, "mute". For every science employing experimental-measuring methods it holds true that the arrangement and assertive value of the projected cognitive material is related to the type and structure of the theoretical anticipation. This anticipation is the only basis for the certainty and order of the results of experimental cognition. This bond between theory and empirical research practice applies not

only to all methodical branches of empirical social research, but also to all working stages of an actual empirical investigation.

The theory is fundamental to the conception of the investigation, to the proposal and the structuring of the questionnaire as the essential experimental device, to the conduct of the interview. It prevails in the various stages of evaluation and analysis of material, beginning with the categorization and coding of single responses and ending with the correlative comparison.

It is completely irrelevant whether the evaluation aims at a purely quantitative comparison, or at the description and analysis of certain qualitative structural types (as with listening and reading habits or group opinions, etc.). The overall plan of the questioning as well as its evaluation is always defined by the mutual stimulation and control of theoretical-hypothetical conception and empirical-practical examination.

The connection of theory and practice (*i.e.*, empiricism) is therefore more complicated in form that a complete empiricism would indicate. And there is certainly justification for Adorno's statement that in no empirical-sociological study do the results that make sense surpass the methodical-theoretical considerations that have gone into the study.

In spite of this criticism of sociological empiricism and its desire for an ostensibly unconditional knowledge of social facts, empirical social research must nevertheless be assigned considerable significance for sociology. Above all else this is true because, despite the complicated unity of theory and empiricism, there remains the possibility of unexpected results arising from empirical social research, which have specific consequences for theory. In addition, first in the theoretically controlled and guided observation, the observed empirical data themselves contain a certain theoretical frame of reference, surpassing that which is arbitrarily selected and to which every theory resigns itself in the interests of

development.

The concept of empirical social research contains a further problem deserving brief discussion. Almost all methods of experimental investigation are traditionally governed by the idea that a sharp line of separation may be drawn between experimental arrangement of the investigation and the facts observed through it, in such a way that the organization of the investigation does not actually influence or vary the process that is controlled for observation.

Aside from the question of its validity and defensibility in the area of micro-physical experimental research, in the experimentally intricate sciences that have men and their many-sided relations as the object of research this concept certainly does not have unqualified validity. It is characteristic of empirical social research—which here overlaps in some respects with experimental psychology—that a content-varying influence of the object of cognition during the experiment must always be considered possible. In representative surveys employing a qualitative interview, the presence of the interviewer in the observation process in particular is a factor that should be investigated as a possible source of substantive variation. But even here empirical social research is not shortsightedly to blame. A considerable part of its positive potential consists of, if not omitting influencing factors, at least reducing and neutralizing them through interviewer training, questionnaire construction and many-sided correlation, that is, submitting the influencing elements to increasingly exact controls.

The protests raised against a false empiricism in empirical social research thus signify nothing about empirical social research itself and its possible fruitfulness for a sociology that wishes to attain controlled observation as a method of development.

Nevertheless it is stressed that all quantitative assertions of empirical social research are possible only on the basis of an equalization of heterogeneous material

that is extensively qualitative. In the case of questionnaire surveys, categorization and coding of answers to open-ended questions offer constructive examples. The rules for this equalization, which is necessary for quantification, are certainly not set up arbitrarily, but are based entirely on the investigation, on the theoretical conception as well as on the material obtained. But these rules need the justification of the entire investigation.

Especially with reference to quantitative-statistically treated empirical investigations the *quaestio juris* is continually and emphatically put. Once again this is why every report of the results of an empirical-sociological investigation must include a methodologically clear section on the theoretical conception and procedure of the investigation, on selection and delineation of the survey unit, on the various control techniques that were and were not used and on the theoretical-methodological bases of the treatment of the material in interpretation and analysis. I should like to emphasize this in particular, for without this self-critical presentation of the obtained results in terms of their theoretical-methodological foundations, a report of results is scientifically senseless and only serves to arouse erroneous conceptions about the facts imparted and about the methods of empirical-sociological research.

With this perspective perhaps it can be understood why the opinion researcher cannot always be pleased with what he finds in the press concerning his survey reports and results. As much as he must be interested in the public's reaction to the results of his investigation, interested in a social explanation—about which we shall speak directly—very little of this internally necessary connection of theory and empiricism is ordinarily noted in press reports of such investigations. Generally the results appear alone, quantified results in particular, without their theoretical and methodological foundations. The extensive dissemination of press notices of this kind, together with the extensive, almost magical belief in

the declarative value of the pure statistic, makes it only too easy for the enlightening purpose of empirical social research, especially of opinion research, to be transformed into its exact opposite. This means that the thoroughly desirable popularization and public circulation as well as use of the results of empirical-sociological investigations has, from the internally difficult problematic of these research methods, a limit that should not be overstepped.

OPINION RESEARCH AND PUBLIC OPINION

Having attempted to clarify the problematic of experience in empirical social research, we now turn to opinion research in the narrower sense. The following should be said by way of introduction:

(1) We are never concerned merely with ascertaining existing opinions; legitimate opinion research has rather—if it is to fulfill its responsibility—to penetrate the region of mere opining in a fundamentally and methodically known and controlled manner. (2) Opinion research never deals with THE so-called public opinion, for THE public opinion is empirically and sociologically just as unattainable a phenomenon as its alleged conveyor, the public. It is uncertain whether THE public opinion as a sociological concept even exists, or whether, in this connection, traditions of the philosophy of *volonte generale* or *Volksgeist* or *Zeitgeist* do not always vary together.

"*Meinungsforschung*" is not a completely apt German translation of "public opinion research." The words "public opinion" refer to this survey method's object, public opinion. But if one then assumes that this is a method that serves the investigation of THE public opinion, then one has fundamentally misunderstood the actual intent of the American concept "public opinion research."

Plainly stated, we are concerned here with a social-scientific survey technique in which the respondents, selected ac-

cording to a specific method from a larger group, are to give their responses to certain questions of general interest for the whole group. The conveyed opinions of single individuals are thus essential to the survey. The goal of the inquiry is, through categorization and through comparison of single answers, to establish structure-typological groups of answers, which are then related to sociological data such as profession, income, age group, sex, etc., and thus facilitate a representation of the predominant and effective group opinions in a total society. Because these group opinions, obtained and confirmed through correlation, affect the total society and as social facts and motivations define the behavior of the individual and of the group in the total society, we speak of a discovered public opinion.

But is must be emphasized that THE public opinion is not an actual social dimension; we are dealing only with group opinions of total social, and only in this sense public, relevance and effect. It is not THE public opinion that is sought in "public opinion research"; rather, tendencies or "trends" of opinion formation that characterize certain groups within the total society are found, which, as group opinions, exercise their effects on it. Only the meshing of individual opinion with group structure interests the opinion researcher in the analysis of survey results. He may be able to show the inherent dynamic of the groups, affecting opinion trends that are valid only in their context in total society (*i.e.*, "public" opinion trends in a specific sense).

The insight into such trends attained through analysis does make possible, within certain limits, statements regarding the tendencies toward effect and change in the opinion game of the groups of a total society. Herein also lies a possible practical use of opinion research. However, the trends of opinion formation derived therefrom are not social determinants of a strictly causal nature. To explain them in this way and to attempt

to pursue social politics in their terms, in a deterministic falsification of absolutely defined trends, is to misconstrue the valid intent of opinion research.

We now turn to the second thesis, which is that the opinion researcher cannot function effectively if he restricts himself to the dimensions of the respondent's opinions alone. He can succeed only if he also considers, in addition to the opinion, the behavior of the respondent as an object of research, for the purpose of correction. There is also the important question of whether opinion research, in the investigation itself, generates the opinion that it assumes to be present in the group. Aside from this, for the moment, it is unquestionably true that an opinion having a definite content and assessed as such nevertheless reveals nothing directly about its social weight and its societal bearing. An expressed opinion, even if it should be captured intact in an interview, is always at least potentially without social obligation. Yet it is social obligation and importance that supposedly interest the opinion researcher. In order to make a decision about the social force of ascertained opinion, the opinion researcher must leave the realm of merely stated opinions. He must search for facts that permit him to control and examine ascertained opinions, and also include them logically in the plan of inquiry as being experimentally obtainable and observable quantities. The researcher who at the beginning of research eliminates at least part of the artificial separation between opining and acting as individual societal facts (to whose sociological-technological problematic Max Weber referred) thereby attains the possibility of control over that which is merely opined.

Thus, contemporary empirical opinion research is still also "*Verhaltens*"-research, "*Verhalten*" indicating either actual "behavior," or a latent pattern, an "attitude."

The three fundamental concepts of empirical opinion research, i.e., opinion, behavior and attitude, sufficiently delin-

ate their research assignment and at the same time indicate what is always involved: the confrontation of the opinion and behavior of the respondent in an attempt to investigate the socially operative value of that which is offered as opinion.

Opinion research in its analyses also asks the question of the validity of the ascertained opinions. This is not the theoretical question of cognitive validity, but rather the question of the societal validity of the stated opinion, i.e., the question of societal authenticity and effectiveness, of the correspondence between opinion and behavior and hence the question of the possible cause of ideology, of the social function of disguise and justification, and of the prejudice value of opinions.

In the confrontation of opinion and behavior it is also generally possible to investigate empirically the operation and influence of the media that are so significant in modern society in the formation of opinion: press, radio and film. Their investigation is not without influence on the sociologist's interpretation of the group and individual opinions he has discovered and his judgment of their social effectiveness.

This by no means exhausts the problem of the validity of public opinions, but it approaches it from a position conforming to the sociologist's endeavor. We have attempted to look critically at the opinion trends of groups as they operate in the total societal structure, often under ideological disguises stipulated by the group, in order to clarify the internal continuity between the social situation and the ideological self-justification of individuals and groups.

We do not mean that ideologies do not also have a social effect. As socially stipulated rationalizations useful to the group, they are recognized as fundamental motives of behavior. But after such critical analyses they no longer retain the appearance of impermeable independence; instead they are placed in relation to their social-commercially useful foundations.

ENLIGHTENMENT THROUGH OPINION RESEARCH

By speaking of the enlightening function of empirical opinion and behavior research, we refer specifically to the criticism of ideologies. The critique of ideologies in intellectual history is well known as a legitimate child of enlightenment. The possible critical function of opinion and behavior research as socially enlightening does not take place in a single interview, of course. It is also not directly enlightenment of the public, capable of immediate transformation into prejudice-free and ideology-free behavior on the part of all society. To believe this would be naive.

The enlightenment of which we speak affects first the sociologist himself. It provides him a possible instrument for the critical examination of several social-theoretical axioms that rest on empirically insufficient bases. In this way opinion research, by the discrimination of its methods, is able to contribute to a critically clarified theory of society (although it must be noted immediately that it does not replace such a critical theory of society).

The fundamental uniqueness of opinion research as a pragmatic science suggests that it wishes to be socially enlightening. In this view of opinion research, if results are still extensively denied in the total society it is largely because a widespread irrationality in the regulation of human-social affairs still rules in modern society, even among the political elites and even where confirmed experience has for a long time made a rational shaping of social interests at least partly possible.

The task of empirical social research and of opinion research, its central sub-discipline, is to study non-scientific non-rational societal formation, and hence politics. Its social-political potential exists only in having its relatively precise analy-

ses of differentiated total-societal facts and correlations given the attention and recognition that they deserve, and that actually are necessary in modern society, in the political-democratic decision process. The self-responsible and ultimately political decision regarding the fashioning of society and the utilization of the results of social research cannot and should not result in the downfall of empirical social research. Even this decision would not sufficiently confirm the research. The social images that characterize the competing, purposive groups in a pluralistic democracy remain a possible subject of empirical sociological research and are thus open to critical exposition, though in their fundamental political function they cannot be replaced.

Thus, when empirical social research attempts to use its analyses of social opinion trends to directly influence politics, especially through the influential and sometimes irresponsible media of public opinion, it makes the facts absolute, becomes totalitarian in tendency and abandons its democratic potential.

There is, I believe, a certain political responsibility on the part of the opinion researchers to maintain this democratic potential in determining their subjects of investigation. It is irresponsible and always posits a danger to the stability of democracy to explore opinions on politically real and highly important facts, when their complex political and societal circumstances cannot possibly be known to the respondent and hence cannot be subjected to intelligent judgment. What is found in such explorations are affectively limited individual and group impressions. If these are publicized and propagandized in quantified form as the results of scientifically exact analyses, they prepare for a political change into a democracy of impressions that would be akin to dictatorship.

H. J. Lieber

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Freudianism—A Reactionary Manifestation of Bourgeois Ideology

Among the many Soviet artifacts brought back recently by Dr. Hadley Cantril in this article, in which Professor Fedotov deplores the biological determinism and "historical idealism" of Freudian theory. A number of subtle anti-scientific tricks characterize the writing; the main point for those not alone interested in the physiological cortex is that "scientific materialism" is "bell, book and candle." Interestingly, after severely criticizing the Freudian concept of the subconscious, the author calls upon Soviet scientists to investigate many of the features of the subconscious that intrigue the Freudians.

This article originally appeared in the Soviet journal MEDITSINSKII RABOTNIK (Nov. 25, 1958), and was translated by Ina Schlesinger.

The contemporary stage of the development of human society is characterized by a definite sharpening of the ideological struggle. The truly scientific, materialistic view of the world (*Weltanschauung*) is opposed to various idealistic teachings widespread in capitalistic countries. One of the most reactionary and pseudo-scientific manifestations of bourgeois ideology is Freudianism or the so-called psychoanalytic theory. The ideas of Freudianism or psychoanalysis do not limit themselves to the field of medicine and psychology alone. They pretend to a position as a kind of general philosophy, which can explain not only biological but also social laws. The cornerstone of Freudian theory is the declaration that the fundamental moving forces that determine the conduct of a human being and of society are unconscious instincts, which originate in the sexual experiences of early childhood. Thus Freudianism considers illness to be the result of the discontent of a human being, as a consequence of the fact that the "psychical energy," not finding an outlet in instinctual activity, goes down into the subconscious and there is transformed into the forms or various manifestations of disease. This teaching is fundamentally false and speculative, ignores the role of etiology, the physiological mechanisms of disease, and denies the deterministic significance of the external milieu. Applying this theory to the field of social

phenomena, Freudians assert that the life of a society is directed not by social but by biological laws.

Freud laid down the theory that society originated from the sexual Oedipus complex. His conception of the historical inevitability of wars and social violence is explained by the notorious biological determinism of human behavior, by inborn instincts for aggression and death. All this, as an open manifestation of historical idealism, is deeply foreign to the progress of scientific knowledge. Precisely because of the assertion of the primacy of instincts over conscious action and the limiting of the role of social factors in determining human conduct, Freudianism constitutes a weapon of bourgeois reaction. The center of contemporary Freudianism is the U.S.A., which, as is well known, is also the center of world imperialism.

The recent scientific-theoretical conference on the problem of the ideological struggle with contemporary Freudianism, under the auspices of the presidium of the Academy of Medical Sciences of the U.S.S.R., emphasized the harm done by Freudianism, which poisons the consciousness of the masses and the intellects of the scientists with irrational fabrications and pseudo-scientific speculations. In opening this conference, Professor S. A. Sarkisov emphasized that Freudianism is not propagated in our country. But this does not mean that we can stand on the

sidelines in the struggle with this reactionary teaching. Statements by Soviet scientists aimed at the unmasking of Freudianism help progressive foreign researchers, who wage an active struggle with Freudianism in their own countries. It is very important to show, by concrete research and observation, the defectiveness of the method of psychoanalysis, which is used, consciously or unconsciously, by thousands of doctors in capitalist countries. It is necessary that our scientists, using the physiological teachings of I. P. Pavlov, should help to uncover the intimate mechanisms of the laws of higher nervous activity in pathology and in the normal state.

For this purpose it is necessary to work first of all in the field of psychopathology especially in the study of so-called "unconscious phenomena," used by Freudianism for its psychoanalytical constructions. Today in the capitalist countries themselves, the unity of the progressive forces coming out against psychoanalysis is becoming stronger and stronger. And Freudianism, to defend its weak position, tries to make use of the new data of physiology and electrophysiology on the so-called reticular formation or central-encephalic system.

The discovery of the tonic influence of the reticular formation on the cortex of the brain proved to be a lifebelt for the Freudians, which they caught at so as to bolster their idea of the leading role of the subconscious in the life and conduct of a human being with the facts of contemporary natural science. The neo-Freudians call more and more frequent conferences and special symposiums devoted to the problems of thought and consciousness, with the aim of proving at all costs that these complicated processes of psychic activity are governed by subcortical formations. The reports of the scientists at the conference of the Academy of Medical Sciences of the U.S.S.R. convincingly unmasked the failure of the efforts of the neo-Freudians.

F. V. Bassin, doctor of medical sciences,

read a long report on contemporary Freudianism at the conference. He showed that contemporary Freudianism is not the modest clinical theory of neuroses, which was the form in which the psychoanalytical movement originated. Penetrating into the field of the humanities, Freudianism has drawn near to the philosophical movement of the most reactionary hue—the theory of historical idealism—and is making an effort to lay the foundations for a philosophy of imperialism, militarism and obscurantism.

A position of scornful neutrality in relation to Freudianism is just as inadmissible as a tendency to compromise with this doctrine. The starting point for the criticism of the Freudianism system is for us the tenets of V. I. Lenin on the social and gnosiological roots of idealism. These emphasize that idealistic theories exist not only as a consequence of the interest that the exploiting classes have in them, *i.e.*, not only because of their social roots; it is impossible not to take into account the intimate characteristics of the process of cognition itself. Lenin emphasized that any idealistic system gives a one-sided explanation of the various ways of cognition.

Psychoanalysts welcomed with enthusiasm the contemporary tendency to review the thesis of the functional primacy of the cortex. Some foreign scientists have made an effort to consider Freudianism as a teaching, the fundamental premises of which are in some degree in keeping with the most important ideas of the latest developments in physics, in particular in cybernetics. Ideas are advanced which proclaim a compromise between the teachings of psychoanalysis and those of I. P. Pavlov on higher nervous activity. Thus, for example, the outstanding Canadian neurophysiologist Penfield comes out in defense of this compromise. At an international conference assembled last year in Freiburg, devoted to the problems of the relationship between Freudianism and the teachings of Pavlov, the thought was insistently voiced that a definite synthesis

between the psychoanalytical approach and the clinical-physiological approach would be desirable.

In the same year, one of the great American psychoanalysts, Lawrence Cubie, came out with the assertion that there is no contradiction between Pavlov and Freud and that these two scientists supplement each other instead of contradicting each other. Striving to reconcile Pavlov with Freud, Cubie reaches the point where he explains the concept of local adaptability as an index of the freedom of the human being to react in accordance with outer and inner changes. Psychic health, he maintains, is a synonym of freedom, and any means by which a human being tries to attain freedom can be used, from the point of view of psychoanalysis, for the good of the human being. With even greater frankness, he comes out against the thesis that the fundamental source of psychical illnesses in capitalist countries, including neuroses, is poverty and economic and political injustice.

It is true, Cubie agrees, that socioeconomic and political injustice plays an important, but only a secondary, part in the neurotic process. Neither freedom nor slavery, poverty nor wealth, leisure nor overexhaustion, idleness nor excessive work, none of these give rise to the neurotic process. These are the conclusions that Cubie comes to, together with the majority of contemporary American psychoanalysts.

In this way the true social role behind the scenes played by Freudianism in the explanation of physical phenomena can be guessed at without special difficulty. We must agree fully with the progressive American scientist, Harry Wells, who says that the teaching of Freud is pure idealism, linked more with Kantianism than with anything else.

It would be a mistake to suppose, as do some contemporary apologists for Freud, that he at one time adhered to a materialistic position. Freud was always a thoroughly consistent idealist of the

Kantian and Bergsonian stamp. Participants in the conference criticized the efforts of contemporary Freudianism to make use of data on the physiology of the reticular formation to substantiate its main idea: the determining significance of instincts and emotional (affect) factors in the conduct of a human being. As is well known, an electrophysiological and neuronographical study of the function of subcortical and trunk formations, including the reticular formation, corroborates certain ideas on the tonic function of subcortical formations, formulated by I. P. Pavlov. There is some basis for the theory that the effect of subcortical influences is not exhausted by diffuse changes in the irritability (excitability) of more or less large cortical zones, and that these phenomena will prove to be linked much more selectively with the processes of higher nervous activity.

It is impossible not to come to such a conclusion if one takes into account that the existence of a whole system of connections (links) between the cortex and the subcortical structures of specific or non-specific character is an indisputable fact. Thus, for example, there are such connections between the somatosensory cortex and the specifically sensory nuclei of the thalamus, between the primary auditory cortex and the internal geniculum (geniculate body), between the frontal forehead cortex and definite nuclei of the thalamus. The presence of these neuro-dynamic structures of cyclical constructions can hardly be interpreted physiologically without seeing it as an expression of a profound connection between elementary actions of cortical activity and definite corresponding actions by the preliminary and subsequent changes on the subcortical level. Without constant support by these differentiated subcortical components, without constant selective interlacing of the latter with the dynamics of cortical processes obviously, on principle, no act of equilibration can take place. But this definitely does not mean that, if we concede the

possibility of the closing of temporary connections by means of subcortical processes, this demands in some measure, as the neo-Freudians maintain, the review of Pavlovian conceptions of these structures as formations that have as their main function the toning up of the cortex.

On the contrary, the toning up function of subcortical formations not only does not exclude the influence on the part of these formations on the state of the functional contacts between the centers of the cortex, but must be indissolubly connected with these influences. There is really nothing unexpected in the mere fact of the influence of the toning up subcortical formations on the process of harmonious working of cortical zones. Professors V. N. Miasestshev, P. K. Anokhin, A. V. Sniezhnieskii, O. V. Kerbikov, E. A. Popov, P. P. Bondarenko and other participants in the conference correctly noted that Soviet physiologists, psychoneurologists and psychologists should not neglect a range of problems that are at present the preserve

of the Freudians (the role of emotional mechanisms, of "unconscious" impulses and instincts in the course of some clinical phenomena, etc.). These problems can and must be worked out from the position of the classical conceptions of Pavlovian physiology. We cannot reconcile ourselves also to the fact that the psychological problem of the "unconscious" was worked out for many years on the basis of idealistic treatments of the psychoanalytical and other reactionary schools.

Soviet scientists dispose of unlimited possibilities for the propaganda of truly scientific knowledge, for unmasking all kinds of pseudo-scientific and reactionary doctrines of bourgeois science. A specially important part in the struggle with Freudianism is played by the enormous amount of experimental and theoretical material piled up by the physiological school of I. P. Pavlov and many Soviet scientists. It is necessary only to make use of it more actively.

D. Fedotov

A Letter from Norway

Yesterday I spent a few hours at the *Institutt for Samfunnsforskning*, headed by Erik Rinde. As is the custom in Norway, everyone had their sandwiches at lunchtime. Tea was poured in the conference room and about a dozen staff members gathered round the long table. The first thing Rinde showed me was the IBM Hollerith card machine. The Institute staff seems to be definitely in the American tradition of social research. Their list of publications, produced or sponsored, during the last eight years numbers several hundred. English is spoken, apparently as a matter of course. There are usually one or two American social scientists in residence at the Institute.

A commonplace of social research lore among the Norwegian social scientists seems to be the proposition that Norway as a whole is small, thus manageable in surveying, and also (with some interesting exceptions) linguistically and ethnically homogenous. Pressed to cite specifically Norwegian attitudes or approaches, several of the researchers could cite nothing in particular out of the mainstream of empirical

research. There are, of course, several typical or characteristic Norwegian material problems. Sailors (particularly the whalers) sail away from their homes for long periods, producing "father-absences" with interesting effects on wives and children. Women are just now winning equality in business and industry, so there are studies on "sex-roles" in industry. About a third of the Institute staff-members I encountered were in industrial psychology. Every one of them was very much *au courant* with American publications in the field.

To learn Norwegian or not to learn Norwegian seems to be one of the conversational gambits among the Fulbright scholars in Oslo. Because English is the *lingua franca* among the Norwegian academics, the husband does not need to learn Norwegian. Frequently the wife or children of the Fulbright families go to classes in Norwegian for foreigners. The husband needs a more subtle and sophisticated tongue for scientific communication, so he speaks English with his colleagues, most of whom are surprisingly fluent. Some research directors in Norway apparently make a point of having Americans visiting to keep the Norwegian staff on their toes in practising English.

At cocktail parties the Norwegians speak English in consideration for their non-Norwegian hosts or guests. But there are frequent bursts of laughter after short lapses into Norwegian and of course these are tantalizing. Explanations of what they were laughing about never seem to explain fully.

Support for the Institute comes in large part from Rinde personally and from his family business. The stipends for the staff are granted annually by the Norwegian Research Council, which receives its funds largely from the national football lottery, half of the profits of which go to the Council.

There is a very explicit competition to become a Professor. At present there is an opening in Psychology. There are contest-lectures, and lists of publications submitted in the course of formal application. Off the record, a candidate lamented that he had been driven into publication, or publication at greater length than was appropriate, purely because he was pushing for the position of Professor. It's a big thing, and the hostess at a cocktail party wondered to me whether it was completely proper to have invited both a candidate and the sister-in-law of another candidate!

These are only some preliminary impressions. As always happens, the report of the Institute was placed in my hands at the close of my visit rather than a day or two before. So my questions were not as informed as they might have been. This is a standard defect in the protocol of international visiting.

Otto Klineberg arrived at the lunch-table and some conversation was made. "What tobacco are you smoking?"

"Pale Garbage." The respondent meant a light mixture of off-cuttings!

Aaron Bell

ON THE COVER: This sketch by Leonardo da Vinci might be considered a sixteenth century political cartoon. It allegorizes the concordat of December, 1515, between Francis I of France, who had recently conquered Milan, and Pope Leo X.

Scientific Progress Through Translations

(AN EDITORIAL)

Beginning with this issue, *PROD* will publish translations of articles from abroad every two months. What do we hope to bring home from these excursions to other lands?

Certainly the American output of meritorious social science on political subjects is as large as that of the rest of the world. A fringe of countries in Western Europe provides most of the balance: Belgium, England, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and Norway, to be alphabetical. Japan, Canada, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland and India also make a number of contributions. Scholars from other nations are heard from occasionally.

Yet, whatever the distribution of scientific productivity, unquestionably American scholars are not benefiting from more than a fraction of the output of social science overseas. At least three reasons explain this fact: linguistic difficulties, lack of screening facilities and the tendency to read what others are reading. *PROD TRANSLATIONS* can help overcome these problems.

Besides, even when our foreign colleagues are not besting us at our own game, they remain the most important instrument of our self-improvement. Our political and social science has prospered because of its instrumentalism and vulgar empiricism. But to these have been continuously added the leavening theories of Europe: general social theory, positivism, Machiavellism and psychoanalysis. Europe's great figures have been greater than our own. It is simply because science is a form of administration as well as a form of poetic imagination that U. S. scholars have done so much; Americans have been wealthy, efficient and assiduous administrators of science.

Also, whether the free Europeans write in the style of their fathers or in the jargon of social science, they maintain a higher level of literary quality in their work. In general they are better logicians. They are also cleverer at drawing inferences from data. Furthermore, they think more in historical terms; they can better adduce evidence from the past, and they can judge better the creative value of current hypotheses. These superiorities of overseas scholars can become our own only if we study and understand them. *PROD TRANSLATIONS* are intended to help us do so.

PROD TRANSLATIONS have a second general motive. The very materials of foreign scholarship can aid our progress. We need not talk of superiority here. It is good and sufficient to know and possess concrete studies of the same general phenomena occurring in different cultural and institutional settings. Aristotle, Mosca, Bryce and Weber soon will appear to us to have been the brilliant precursors of a massive science of comparative politics carried on with systematic and mechanistic rationalism.

PROD TRANSLATIONS are only a first attempt at intensifying communications among social scientists. Profiting from the momentum and suggestions they provide, we hope to discover and apply more radical innovations in communication methods in time to come.